

PEACE NEWS

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FOURPENCE

A YOUTH PROTESTS AGAINST MILITARY SERVICE

I don't want to kill, steal, lie or plunder

By MARY WILLIS

AN unusually broadly-based case for objection to military service was put up by Terence O'Neill of Dagenham, at the tribunal at Fulham last Friday.

He said that if he became a soldier he would not only have to kill, but also, if the situation demanded, to steal, lie and plunder, thus breaking two more commandments, "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not bear false witness."

"Why do you say that you would have to steal?" asked Judge Hargreaves.

"I am under the impression that I would at times be ordered to take food from the people," said O'Neill.

"Of course if a country is conquered food is requisitioned," said the Judge, "but plundering and looting is very heavily punished." He then asked what the applicant meant by his reference to lying, and pointed out that he would get into serious trouble if he lied to his commanding officer.

"I thought suppose I was detailed to some secret mission . . ." began O'Neill.

"It is more likely that civilians would be sent on such a mission," said the Judge. "So you see that you are more likely to have to lie if you remain in civilian life than if you go into the army."

O'Neill went on to say that he thought that taking life was absolutely contrary to the teaching of Jesus, who said that he had come not to destroy men's life but to save them.

The Tribunal told him he could complete his apprenticeship as a compositor, and then carry out land, hospital or building work.

If women and girls were attacked

Bryan Reed, an accountant, of Sydenham, said that his objection rested on the argument that man was finite in both perception and comprehension, and therefore had no right to take life. "War breaks the spiritual unity and blinds people to the fight within them," he said.

"Suppose a man decides he is going to attack women and girls?" asked Judge Hargreaves.

"I agree that a certain amount of force is necessary to restrain him," replied Reed, "but I cannot see what that has to do with warfare."

"You say that war achieves nothing," said Mr. Swales. "If it did achieve something would you have no objection to it?"

"If it achieved something spiritual I would, but it is the denial or spiritual life," was the reply.

"What about non-combatant service?" asked Mr. Tudor Davies.

"There again I would be helping something that is completely wrong."

Reed, who attends the Friends' meeting at Sydenham, was directed to work with the FAU International Service, or other alternative service.

Student and Jews

Henry B. Levin, of Paddington, who has taken a degree in economics and belongs to the London School of Economics Pacifist Society, said his objection to war was based on logical and humanitarian grounds.

"On the first count I am convinced that no war in the past has ever had the result that was claimed for it, or for which it was fought. My moral objection is based on a belief in the value of human beings. I also believe that war brutalizes all those who take part in it."

Mr. Tudor Davies asked Levin whether he thought that such atrocities as the massacre of the Jews of Warsaw, and the Belgian concentration camp, should have been allowed to succeed.

"The fact is," he replied, "that the war was fought and the massacres of the Jews took place." He added that he did not believe it was morally justifiable to save the lives of six million people by the des-

(Continued on page six)

USE OF THE NATIONAL OUTPUT in the U.K.

	1938	1939	1945	1948	(probable)
Personal Expenditure on Consumption	72	69	55	63	60
Government Expenditure					
non-war	9	9	6	10	9
" war	6	14	43	7	16
Gross Capital Formation	14	10	6	21	16
External Borrowing	-- 1	-- 2	-- 10	-- 2	-- 1
	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCES: Cmd. 6784, p. 6, Cmd. 7371, p. 6, Cmd. 7915, p. 7.

FAREWELL TO WELFARE

Facts behind Britain's next arms race budget

The presentation of the budget has been deferred until March 11. The public have had good notice that harder times are before us. In the following article Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ.), discusses the economic situation with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to deal.

THE deterioration of Britain's economic position is indicated by two main symptoms: the mounting trade deficit and the contraction of non-military production.

Last year's "Economic Survey" (Cmd. 8195, pp. 4 & 5) stated:

"The problem is how to rearm as fast as we can while maintaining a strong and healthy economy . . ."

"The giant economy of the U.S. is being switched over to arms production. The resulting increase in world demand for raw materials has produced conditions of widespread scarcity and soaring prices, which have greatly aggravated our own problems of raising output, maintaining an external balance (of payments) and preserving financial stability at home."

No Economic Survey has been published this year, thus no information is available as to the impact of the arms drive. Instead, we get the BBC's "wise men" complaining about the dangers of "inflation" because "we are living beyond our means." They seem to overlook (unintentionally?) the basic cause of all our difficulties: the arms race.

The central problem is the use of economic resources, which are diverted to the accelerated manufacturing of arms. Consequently, output of consumption goods declines, capital development at home and in the Asian Dominions and the Colonies is reduced and the weakened export trade cannot cover the "payments gap."

WHY QUICK REARMAMENT?

The 1951 "Economic Survey" concluded (p. 46): "We cannot foretell how long rearmament must continue."

The U.S. spends £23,320m., i.e., over 20 per cent. of the total output on "defence." Britain will increase the present three-years' expenditure from £4,700m. to £5,200m. owing to rising prices, thus nearly one-sixth of the national product is allocated for arms.

Why is it that Britain's present armaments bill absorbs a higher proportion of the output than in 1939, when war had already begun?

As "Gaitskellism" (maximum effort for arms) is discredited, the former Chancellor's colleague, Maurice Webb, MP, prepares a "second line of defence" (Reynolds News, Feb. 17): to prove the "inevitability" of the arms drive which must be accepted as an "effect."

Rearmament is an effect—not cause of the world's troubles. You might as well say the rash on the skin is the cause of the fever. With or without rearmament, we shall not solve our problems until we find effective means to correct the unbalance between huge surpluses in the New World and acute poverty in the Old."

The new increase in arms expenditure, from £4,700 m. to £5,200 m. will certainly raise the "fever" and aggravate the "unbalance" between resources worth £25,600 m.—squandered for the arms race by the U.S., U.K., and France in 1952 and the yearly income of 600 million starving people in Asia, approximately £10,500 m.

There is no half-way between a peace economy and a war-economy.

The tremendous waste of resources is either a disastrous economic blunder or the ulterior purpose is not "defence" but preventive war, as advocated by the Taft-Sassen-MacArthur group.

If the concept of atomic war dominates military calculations with its horrifying implications and ruinous costs of "readiness," including deep shelters for London and other provisions, the arms expenditure of £5,200 m. will again be raised.

The "journey's end" is bankruptcy or war. Whose finger will be on the trigger?

CUTS AND SACRIFICES

The inevitable consequence of the arms race is a sharp curtailment of living standards.

The table below shows that spending on consumption goods and non-military investment (plants, equipment, etc., aiding future production) must be cut if arms production devours a larger slice of output.

The real problem is the use of productive resources, whereas Mr. Butler's problem is to find the revenues for the "Arms Drive Budget." Who should pay more?

City editors and bank chairmen assert that "we are living beyond our means" and recommend that taxes must be reduced, food subsidies abolished and utility schemes scrapped. Mr. Norman Crump writes (Sunday Times, Feb. 24):

"My hope is that the Budget will put a premium on good work and production and leave the absorption of surplus purchasing power to monetary discipline. The Government should economise to reduce taxation on those who do the real work of the country."

"Monetary discipline" means that money lenders earn more on loans. But several other points arise from the above advice.

What should be produced; whose "surplus purchasing power" should be taxed; and what people do "real work"?

The lowest income-groups pay little or no taxes but receive the benefit of cheap subsidised food.

If Mr. Butler "economises" on subsidies, food prices and the cost-of-living index must rise.

A "redistribution of incomes" takes place in the wrong direction; the arms burden is shifted on to the weakest groups. The manipulation of the "official" index and "wage-restraint" (i.e., "eat less") will prevent adjustment of wages to prices.

The Trade Union leaders will hardly convince the workers that they must accept new sacrifices.

Mr. Deakin stated recently (Sunday Times, Feb. 24):

"If we are to enjoy a better standard of living production must be increased."

It remains a puzzle how Mr. Deakin can now expect better living when unemployment increases and non-military production declines.

DEPENDENCE ON AMERICA

Against the background of a £5,200 m. arms programme, quarrels about the unjustified £s. fee on medical prescriptions, dental charges, etc., appear less significant.

The essential economic problem is that Britain's external trade is threatened by the arms drive and the vanishing dollar and gold reserves.

The "Treasury Bulletin for Industry" stated this month:

"In the last six months of 1951 the Sterling Area used up 40 per cent. of its accumulated reserves, leaving £834 m. (Dec. 31, 1951). If the loss went on at this rate, they would last until about September, 1952."

"More than half the food eaten in Britain comes from abroad. . . . Nearly two-thirds of Britain's wheat and flour come usually from the dollar area."

"Almost all Britain's raw materials are imported and roughly half of them (by value) come from outside the Sterling Area."

The main cause of the dollar deficit is

(Continued on page six)

Mr. Churchill is asked if he would invite Archbishop to see A-bomb test

A REQUEST that the Archbishop of Canterbury be invited to see Britain's atom bomb exploded was made in the House of Commons on Monday.

At question time, Emrys Hughes, MP, rose and asked the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, if he would "invite a delegation of the Christian Churches, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to see the explosion of this infernal machine and to report progress."

The Prime Minister: I'm not quite sure about that. Anyhow, as the whole of the preparations were made by the Rt. Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Attlee) when he was Prime Minister, perhaps the hon. Member for Ayrshire South (Mr. Emrys Hughes) would ascertain from him whether he desires a delegation of the Christian Churches to examine the infernal machine for which he has accepted responsibility.

Mr. Emrys Hughes: In view of the complete evasiveness of that answer, and owing to the fact that I was no more responsible for the last Government than the Prime Minister was responsible for Mr. Neville Chamberlain, I beg to give notice that I will raise this matter at the earliest possible opportunity on the adjournment.

(Emrys Hughes, MP, writes on "Labour and German Rearmament" on page six. Other questions asked in the House appear on page three.)

Berliners told of rearmament dangers

A RECENT meeting in the U.S. Sector in Berlin in support of the League for Peace in Europe was attended by 1,100 people. The principal speaker, Professor Irwind, said that the peace of Europe depended on whether the Russian and German people could live peacefully side by side. Sooner or later there must be negotiations, sooner or later we must meet the other side with outstretched hand.

The League, he said, believed that the remilitarisation of Western Germany would increase tensions and give the Soviet Union a heightened feeling of encirclement. It would bring new social dangers, and a rebirth of the militaristic spirit. In our political thinking we were 100 years behind-hand, and in technical matters 100 years in advance. The question today was whether Germany could devote herself to reconstruction, or whether she was to become the battlefield for the next war.

Dr. Heinemann, one of the founders of the League for Peace in Europe, is to visit Berlin next month.

Kenneth Younger M.P. to speak on Peace with China

A BRITISH Policy for China" is the theme of a big public meeting which the Peace with China Council is to hold at the Central Hall, Westminster on Tuesday next, March 4, at 7 p.m.

The speakers are Barbara Castle MP, James Cameron, Kingsley Martin, Rennie Calder and Kenneth Younger MP. Mr. Younger's presence on the platform is of particular interest since he was Minister of State at the Foreign Office in the late Labour Government.

Dr. Soper warns would-be airmen

"SOME of you young men sitting here may be called upon to bomb an objective," said Dr. Donald Soper in Belfast last Sunday. "From an altitude of 20,000 feet it may appear to be a reasonable procedure. But if you could follow that incendiary, and see it alight in flame on a cradle—that is another thing."

"Would you throw fire on a child? Would you throw an infant into the fire?"

Dr. Soper, who was speaking to a large audience in the Grosvenor Hall, was attacking the habit of dressing unpleasant things in pretty words.

Yugoslavs to call new peace conference

THE Committee set up by the Zagreb Peace Conference last October is proposing to call another Conference. The suggested agenda will cover

- (1) Economic Assistance to underdeveloped countries; and
- (2) Conditions for the peaceful co-existence of countries having different economic regimes.

PEACE NEWS

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FEAR OVER ALL

IN every direction in which one may look today fear is the factor that dominates politics. Fear of Russia and its satellite nations (themselves under the pressure of fear) is only the outstanding example among a crowd of other fears.

Because the fear of Russia at present over-rides every other consideration in the West it is decided that there must be re-armament throughout Europe.

This means that after ten years in a period of 36 have been spent in smashing up Europe in order to achieve the destruction of the German military structure, we have painstakingly to set German militarism on its feet again.

Here, however, another fear obtrudes, and the French find that they dislike military strength in their neighbour as much as they do in the more distant Russian group; so that under pressure of their number-one fear, reinforced by their need for American economic assistance, they laboriously set out to try to achieve the impossible: the construction of a German military organisation that shall have military enthusiasm without nationalistic fervour.



On the other side of the world there is a comparable fear among the politicians of Australia and New Zealand who desire that there shall be "negotiation from strength" with Russia, but who experience distress when they perceive that their traditional bugbear, Japan, is likely to be rearmed as a result of American pressure.

Then America leads in research upon, and production of, the atom bomb, and Mr. Churchill repeatedly assures us that the "free world" owes its safety to Russian fears as to what may be done with it. But apparently the British Government, in their turn, are not without fears in this respect also. So they have developed an atom bomb of their own.

The Americans have a law which requires that there shall be absolute secrecy regarding the development of atomic weapons in the United States, and this applies to the use of the recording instruments. These cannot be made available to the British in an Anglo-American co-operative test of the British bomb in U.S. territory even if the British were willing that the Americans should have information on their bomb.

It is to be tested therefore in Australia so that we may proceed in secrecy with our own development of this weapon. For among all these fears in this fear-ridden world the British are not without their own fear of America.



Wherever there is overwhelming military power it carries with it enormous temptations to its misuse, which can easily be accompanied by a conviction of their own righteousness by those who are likely to misuse it; and it is environed by the fears of surrounding peoples that they will be compelled to submit under it.

We can see this factor operating in the French attitude to German re-armament today; we are beginning to see it operating in the minds of the peoples of the "free world" in regard to the military power that is now wielded by the USA.

America's three-year plan of expansion is ten-and-a-half times that of Great Britain's, and unlike Britain, America is not being compelled to scale it down for economic reasons.

When it is completed America will have greater military strength than any possible combination of powers.

So the British Government feels that it may be as well to have an atomic bomb of its own. We are likely to see these evidences of mutual distrust increase.

It will be materially impossible, however, for Great Britain to assert a refusal to be dominated by American policies through the development of such things as atom bombs.

Independence today can only be found in the repudiation of force and the fears that lead the nations to place their desperate trust in it.

The greatest and most terrible threat to the world today is not in the agony and death of those who suffer under the use of the atom bomb, horrible to contemplate as this is; it lies in the moral destruction of those who may bring themselves to use it.

The world cannot repeat on a larger scale the things that happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki without destroying the whole basis upon which any morally sane society can subsist.

The nation that uses the atom bomb again will have morally destroyed itself. Everybody who consents to think about this matter knows this, the Americans as well as the rest of us.

We should not only have this knowledge but should declare it, and having declared it should act upon it.

Perverted Geography

FOR too long we have known how history can be distorted to suit national prestige and purpose, and it is ironical that at the moment when UNESCO has agreed to sponsor an international history to be written without national partisanship, a new attempt has been made to pervert geography.

The basis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is the North Atlantic Treaty signed on April 4, 1949, by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The Treaty allowed for an invitation by unanimous agreement to any other European state to accede to the Treaty later.

The recent meeting at Lisbon has accepted Greece and Turkey as full members of NATO.

From its inception every attempt has been made to justify the Treaty as being a regional agreement within the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, and it was claimed that it was a defensive treaty based on collective security and implementing the Charter.

We have all along contested this assertion, believing that the Treaty represents a new military alliance destructive of any real collective security and in violation of the Charter, in as much as it marked the abandonment of the attempt to organise peace under the Charter, reverted to the old theory of the balance of power, and started the new arms race.

It was known at the time that many of the officials of the United Nations, including the Secretary General, were extremely unhappy about the Treaty. From the beginning the USSR and other Cominform countries were deliberately precluded from membership of the Organisation, so that there was little wonder that the Soviet Union regarded it not as a regional arrangement within the Charter, but as an alliance directed against Russia in breach of Article 53 which stated that

"no enforcement action shall be taken on the strength of regional arrangements . . . without the authorisation of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state (that is, any state which during the second world war had been an enemy of any signatory to the Charter)."

One of these "enemy states" is already a member and another seeks admission to NATO.

Behind the pretence

Although, in spite of optimistic headlines and paper plans approved at Lisbon, NATO is still far from being an established fact, the story of the attempt to give substance to the Treaty has given point to this column's attitude and justified our criticisms. It is hard to see how, on the basis of a regional plan, Turkey and Greece can be regarded as North Atlantic countries. Lisbon seems indeed to bear out what was disclosed in Behind the News last week in relation to Field Marshall Slim's negotiations at Cairo when he pointed out that Egypt was threatened by invasion through Turkey in an inevitable clash between capitalism and Communism.

It would be more honest for those concerned to give up the pretence that NATO is a defensive regional agreement and recognise that it is a comprehensive military alliance outside the spirit and the letter of the Charter, expressive of the fear of Communism and the policy of encirclement adopted by Britain and America.

It is possible to have either power politics or the rule of law; rival alliances and an arms race or the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is not possible to have both. Hence the danger of NATO.

The snag in EDC

THE North Atlantic Council has approved a plan which is intended to produce a defence force of 50 divisions and 4,000 operational aircraft by the end of 1952.

The resolution providing for this plan has not been published and there is therefore no detailed information of how the target, referred to by the Manchester Guardian as an "optimistic" one, is to be reached.

Indeed the Manchester Guardian refers to the official communiqué as wrapping "the information that is disclosed in platitudes and ambiguities which ensure that the military planning of the NATO Powers shall not become known."

The plan does not, of course, take into account any German forces, for the German contribution can only be given through her membership of the European Defence Community.

The Treaty establishing EDC and its relationship to NATO also made known in Lisbon, has to be ratified by the Governments of the six Powers concerned before coming into effect. Here lies the snag; for public opinion in both France and Germany is strongly against various details embodied in the Treaty and neither Government is at all certain to receive a majority vote when it is presented nationally.

Second thoughts on Kenya

MR. LENNOX-BOYD, Minister of State, has reversed his decision not to see Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng' Oneko, delegates of the

BEHIND THE NEWS

Kenya African Union. He is seeing them at the Colonial Office today (Friday).

Tomorrow Oneko is returning to Kenya to report on the interview and the progress of the Kenya land campaign in Britain.

This reversal of the Colonial Office decision is believed to result from Mr. Lennox-Boyd's experiences during his recent visit to Kenya where he saw the strength of African resentment at the appalling conditions resulting from land famine.

Hundreds of thousands of Africans are subscribing their support to a petition, the counterpart of which is being organised in Britain by the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

A row has blown up in the House of Commons following criticisms made by Mr. Lyttelton of the Congress of Peoples and MPs supporting the Kenya land campaign.

Eirene White, MP, raised the Kenya land question in a debate on the adjournment and Mr. Lyttelton, in his reply, referred to "wild and inaccurate statements."

When Fenner Brockway rose, the Colonial Secretary refused to give way. Fenner Brockway is pressing for a further opportunity to debate the subject. He has also written to the Colonial Secretary asking for details of his charges and proposes to answer them at a public meeting in Conway Hall, London, on March 7.

William IV lingers on

THE Ceylon Exhibition, opened last Saturday at Colombo by Lord Soulbury, the Governor-General, was one of the many Commonwealth functions which the Queen had to cancel.

Countries taking part included the United Kingdom and its remaining territories in South and South-East Asia, the USA,

IN MEMORIAM (London and Korea, 1952)

*If one, unknown, save as a pictured face,
A voice conducted on an unseen wire,
Can so stir sorrow in the heart, what place
Might pity and remembrance conspire
To keep for those whose liberation came
In no quiet hour, with no pretence of grace,
Attended by no fond, familiar face,
But in obscenity of steel and flame—
By acts committed, mourner, in your name?*

JON WYNNE-TYSON

Canada, Australia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Laos, and the Maldives.

According to Mr. Jayawardene, Minister of Finance, the idea of holding the exhibition was suggested in February, 1951, at a meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee.

All the countries taking part were asked to display their products, and to show their cultural and artistic achievements. The underlying purpose of the scheme was to help world-society to appreciate the needs of under-developed countries, and to perceive what resources were available to meet them.

This exhibition, the most spectacular function seen in Ceylon for many years, marks a milestone on the journey of the smaller Asian countries from subjection to independence. Independence, however, is not merely political; its spiritual and psychological qualities have often to be gained long after the dependent status has gone.

A distinguished reader of Peace News who chanced to be in Colombo last week has commented to us on the lingering evidences of colonialism still to be found there. In his hotel there appeared to be "far too much ordering about of Singhalese in the sahib manner as if they were fellahs."

The city, with its white Corinthian pillars, red London-style omnibuses, and hotel orchestras playing Western melodies, struck him as "very Europeanised." He added that "a foundation stone recording some action of William IV increases the impression of all-pervading Englishness . . . I cannot yet speak about Ceylon, but Colombo seems to lack, far more than Shanghai, 'cultural resistance.'

The killing of Sister Anthony

IT is obvious that something is being concealed in regard to the death of Sister Anthony.

In reply to a question from Mr. Harold Davies regarding the findings of the British Court of Enquiry on this matter, the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Head, said that the reports of such courts are confidential documents that it is not the practice to disclose.

Will anybody believe that if it had been established that she had been killed by one of the Egyptian rebels this would not have been announced?

Mr. Head's replies were calculated to give this impression but they very carefully did not say so in so many words.

A correspondent has drawn our attention to the fact that we did an injustice to the News Chronicle in stating in Peace News, Feb. 1 that it did not publish the Mother Superior's account of Sister Anthony's death. We are glad to make this correction.

It should be noted, however, that where The Times and the Manchester Guardian reported the Mother Superior as saying that Sister Anthony was shot while she was opening the gate to admit the British News Chronicle reported the Mother Superior as saying that she was shot when she went out on to the side porch. We shall be glad to see an explanation of this discrepancy.

The main point of our comment was, of course, to draw attention to the difference in headlining between the accusations implied in the announcement of the death and the obscurity of the announcement that the accusations could not be substantiated.

Alex Wood

IN the famous Union at Cambridge last Wednesday were gathered friends and admirers of Alex Wood.

The Peace Pledge Union Council had sent their chairman, Sybil Morrison, to represent the movement, Peace News had sent Hugh Brock, and there were a large number of other PPU members, many of whom had come long distances to pay, by their presence, a tribute to the man who did so much for the PPU and who had been so deeply revered and loved.

Canon Raven's most interesting and moving address (see page six) built up an unforgettable picture of a great scholar and an equally great citizen of Cambridge. To the PPU he will always be remembered as a Chairman who was never absent from a meeting, always began punctually, maintained a strict and good natured impartiality and was completely sure and confident upon all matters of procedure, however intricate. Most of us have been privileged to hear the sudden flash of dry humour with which he would lighten the gathering clouds of a difficult situation and completely clear the air.

Added to his chairmanship of the National Peace Council Executive and Vice-Chairmanship of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he was also, for seven years, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Peace News. He brought to all meetings that he chaired a comprehensive knowledge of the work to be undertaken and of the background of that work.

He was a very good chairman because he was concerned always to do what was right and to put aside at all costs any personal feelings: even when he profoundly disagreed he never failed in tolerance and understanding. At Cambridge last week tribute was paid not only to a scholar and a citizen but to a great Christian pacifist.

Defence defined

THE concluding paragraph of the White Paper on Defence deals with Civil Defence and informs us that

"the main objects of a civil defence organisation are to reduce casualties, to attend to the needs of those who are injured or have lost their homes, to maintain order, and to fight fires, to keep essential services going and to sustain morale."

Although we would suggest that the best purpose of CD is better represented by reversing the order of these main objects, it is obvious that they cover a new definition of "defence." Indeed, they justify the contention of those who claim that there can be no defence—civil or military—in total war.

Ambulance service, fire service, police service perhaps—but no defence.

The concern of Peace News is not to reduce casualties, it is to prevent them, and the only defence is that which takes the shape of policies designed to remove the danger of attack and the possibility of war.

Disarmament is the best Civil Defence.

Rice from Thailand

IN a note on Jan. 18 we commented unfavourably on the "enriched" rice shipped from Thailand to Burma under instructions from ECA, i.e. rice which, after having its natural minerals removed by polishing, has been sprayed with vitamin extract.

A correspondent in Thailand writes:

"I think that the writer has oversimplified the problem. The Food and Agricultural Organisation has gone into this subject in detail in its report, 'Nutrition Problems of Rice-eating Countries in Asia.' The trouble is that the rice-mills in this area are all old, many of them as much as 50 years old, and therefore in separating the grain from the husk they lose the part containing the valuable vitamins. The need is for new mills which can separate more finely, thus producing rice which is both acceptable and nutritious," and the FAO strongly emphasises this.

"To replace all the existing rice mills would be very expensive and would involve other problems, as they are all privately owned. These could only be dealt with by the governments of the countries concerned. The ECA has therefore produced an intermediate scheme for spraying rice with vitamins in order to give immediate help to those who suffer from mal-nutrition."

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OMONEE

British troops lay by their machine guns tonight and listened to the cries of thousands of lost children... They tried hard not to look at little children at the roadside wailing "Omonee, Omonee" (Mother, Mother).—Reuter despatch from Korean front.

*My son, killed in Korea, stood before the judgment throne, his comrades crowded near.
But each man knew he must be judged alone.
He raised his eyes, yet could not see his Lord
For press of a multitude, and could not hear whether his name were called for the endless cries
Of the cold, dead children, who shivered, and blocked his view.
And he remembered them... weeks along the wayside ditches,
Whipped by icy winds, hungry, homeless outlaws
Raising tiny arms in everlasting hope, in true
Faith, O Mary full of grace, that an adult world
Would see to them, save them, food-find and warm-love them.
So they cried without ceasing, "Omonee, Omonee, Omonee!"
"Mother!" Mother full of grace!... And the trucks filled
With ammunition, valuable war material, and above them,
All drove by, not even on the other side.
And night came, and more gear and ammunition,
And some of the cries were stilled. But always there were others
New-tost, new-orphaned. And so the long, loud crying rode
The bitter night; and night after night without diminution.
In sleep he had heard it. All heard, "Omonee, Omonee!"
One lost, cold and hungry child—and the whole realm
Moves heaven and earth to aid. A thousand bereft
But demonstrates the curious mathematics of compassion:
A thousand lost children are silenced to a statistic, a column
Of figures—world's leaven—on a long page and left
Still hungry, cold and desolate. The Lord have mercy.*

—Rita Adams in The Christian Century

GERMAN RECRUITS FOR EGYPT

From a correspondent in Germany.

THE German youth paper "Wacht" states that the Hamburg police and administration have corroborated the news that at Kiel, Bremen and Hamburg agents are busy recruiting young Germans for the armies of Egypt, Syria and Saudi-Arabia.

The three cities mentioned are all situated in the British Zone.

The relations between Great Britain and Egypt are not very friendly. British and Egyptian blood has been spilt at Ismailia. Or was there also German blood? We do not know.

British mothers may be interested to know that the Egyptian army against which their sons are being trained to fight is recruiting in the British Zone of Germany.

CALCULATIONS

IF all the pacifists who do NOT buy Peace News were laid end to end they would reach from Blackstock Road to Brighton Aquarium.

This estimate is based on the assumption that the average length of a pacifist is 5 ft. 6 ins.

Personally, I would like to see them laid end to end. That is the correct position for pacifists who do not buy PN—recumbent in the dust.

I will go further and say that in my weaker moments I feel it would afford me considerable liberation of libido to walk down to Brighton on the bodies of pacifists who don't buy PN—albeit wearing crepe-rubber soles as a concession to the feelings of the Non-violence Commission and the League for the Abolition of Blood Sports.

Another way of expressing the above calculation is that five times as many pacifists do not buy PN as do buy it. But—

World's Press News states that only four periodicals have increased their circulation since a year ago. That is incorrect. There are five. It omitted PN.

All the others show a drop—New Statesman, Spectator, Punch, Picturegoer, Listener, even Radio Times. But Peace News went up, along with the Economist, Field, Countryman and Mickey Mouse Weekly.

This is hopeful. It proves that pacifists can be persuaded to buy their own paper. All we need for economic stability in a world of insecurity is two readers where one grew before.

It should not be difficult. Pacifists are comparatively easy to canvass. It's not like selling vacuum cleaners. By the very nature of their professions, pacifists cannot kick you down the steps.

B. J. BOOTHROYD

Contributions since Feb. 15: £66 5s. 5d. Total for 1952: £172 4s. 3d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Said in the House . . .

February 5, 1952

Mr. John Freeman (Lab., Watford): We are no longer materially one of the great Powers of the world, but we have it within our power to exercise a tremendous influence if we keep in sight that simple proposition which the Labour Government never forgot, although even they occasionally weakened in its application. Where we have dominated inferior people either by colonising, by protecting or by occupying them, or whatever it may be, the time has come when at their legitimate request—a request which is today backed by world opinion—we have got to create a new relationship. It is the end of the colonial era.

At the same time . . . we have to recognise that iron curains and all the other political difficulties of the world are artificial factors compared with the common problem which the world has of feeding itself and of developing its agriculture, and all its natural resources . . .

The strong arm has been used in Egypt, and the consequence was Ismailia and the likelihood that there is no longer any chance of getting an agreement on terms which would be fully satisfactory to us.

In the Far East we have ceased exercising the influence which, under the last Government, we were able to influence of restraining those extreme elements in the United States which desire to make war on China. All that has happened in three months of a Conservative Government.

Mr. Ernest Davies (Lab., Enfield, East): I think there is sometimes too much talk about negotiating from strength. We want to be strong enough to persuade Russia to come and talk, but when we talk we should talk more as equals than as one party under duress or as one party threatening the other . . .

If the rearmament programme is so great that it makes inroads upon the Welfare State inevitable, as hon. Members opposite seem to consider, judging by the action they are taking, then it is necessary to ask ourselves whether the effectiveness of the rearmament programme in achieving defence against Communism might not be offset by the spreading inside certain countries of that against which we are fighting. Russia would then appear to achieve by peaceful means her objectives, and our rearming might well be in vain.

Mr. Wigg (Lab., Dudley): If the Foreign Secretary or the Minister of State came to the Box tonight and announced that Britain was evacuating Egypt, the greatest consternation in the world would be in the Abdin Palace. The effect upon Farouk and upon the Pashas would be, probably, to give them a heart attack.

What I am concerned about, as, I am sure, every hon. Member is concerned, is the well-being of the British people and of the Egyptian people.

That is why I am very suspicious indeed of the Foreign Secretary's statement this afternoon that he thought things had become better merely because there had been a change of Government in Egypt.

We have to go much deeper than that, right down into the homes and hearts of the Egyptian people, and make them feel for the first time that we are on their side and are building up a better standard of life and some hope for the future.

February 19, 1952

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Anthony Head): All men who are to be called up for training (as Class Z and Class G Reservists) this year have received their warning notices and no man who has not received a warning notice need have any fear that he will be called up. . . . The same legal protection applies this year as applied last year, and exactly the same principle regarding appeals for exemption.

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., S. Ayrshire): I have seen a great deal in the newspapers about Z men who have had common sense enough to be conscientious objectors. What has happened to them? As far as I can make out, at the tribunals at which these men appeared they put up their case which seemed to me to be very clear and logical. They said, "We have learned from practical experience what the Army and what war is like, and that experience has convinced us that the whole thing is futile and we do not want to go in again."

But as far as I can see, the great majority of these tribunals have come to the conclusion that because a man has been in uniform for a few years he must necessarily be considered ungentle and a fraud if he says, "This time I have thought the whole thing over and I am genuinely opposed to this organisation and I object to wasting my time in it." What has happened? Have these men been dragged reluctantly into the Army? Have any of them been sent to jail for it? Have any of them come under military law and been sent to detention or prison?

I believe that a large number of people did object to going but they went because they were dragged. They went into the Army and served their time reluctantly and they will be greatly disappointed if they are to be called up again. I am not satisfied on any ground that the House is justified in agreeing to this proposal.

I believe that the majority of Z-men will whole-heartedly endorse what I have said tonight.

February 20, 1952

Mr. George Chetwynd (Lab., Stockton-on-Tees), asked the Prime Minister how far the actual expenditure on the rearmament programme for 1951-52 will fall short of the expenditure originally proposed.

The Prime Minister: The present indications are that expenditure will fall short by about £120 million of the £1,250 million which it was hoped it might be possible to spend in the current financial year.

* * *

Mr. Legh (Con., Petersfield): What military supplies have been made available to the Yugoslav Government by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. Nutting (Foreign Under-Secretary): As a result of examination in July and August, 1951, by the Service Ministries of existing stocks, and of discussions with the Yugoslav authorities, it was agreed that certain items of military equipment should be shipped to Yugoslavia as a gift. It is expected that equipment to the value of £34 million will be shipped within the course of the present financial year, and that further shipments will be sent next year.

* * *

Mr. Swinburne (Lab., Newcastle-under-Lyme), asked the Minister of Education the number of classes of over 50, and over 40 pupils, respectively, at the latest date for which figures are available.

Miss Horsbrugh: In January, 1951, there were 35,103 classes with over 40 pupils on the registers, including 1,123 classes with over 50 pupils, in primary and secondary schools (other than nursery and special schools) maintained or assisted by local education authorities.

Briefly . . .

Freiburg (Germany) Town Council issued an order at the end of January forbidding any employee of the borough to cooperate in any way with the plans for building new barracks and a military aerodrome in the vicinity. The Council also called on all private individuals and firms, and on the provincial authorities to associate themselves with this boycott. M. Monteaux, the French commandant of the town has sent a letter of protest to the Mayor.

The Illinois section of the U.S. "National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives," which is sponsoring the World Peace Council petition for a five-power peace pact, held a public meeting in Chicago on January 24 to discuss "What terms for Germany will bring world peace." Speakers, who put the views of five governments, included Mr. Roger Labey, the French Consul in Chicago, and Mr. Rodney C. Chalk, the Assistant Director of the British Information Services.

"Guiding children in a war-torn world," was the subject for a one-day pacifist conference on Feb. 9 at the Binkley ranch, near Saratoga, Northern California. It was organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Doris Lester of London was the main speaker.

The Authors' World Peace Appeal held a successful Reading of poetry and stories at the Institute of Contemporary Arts on February 20. Edmund Blunden read from the verse touching directly on War by a number of his fellow-poets who died in the 1914-18 War. Among others who read from their own work were the two young pacifist writers, Alex Comfort and James Kirkup.

Rev. George I. Laurenson, recently elected President of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, is a member of the NZ Christian Pacifist Society.

More and bigger armaments "A ONE-TRACK MIND SOLUTION"

— Michael Scott

THE first of a series of meetings organised by the United Nations Association, to consider the moral and spiritual issues at stake in the world today, and our collective and moral responsibility in face of them, was held at the Central Hall, Westminster last week.

Major General L. O. Lyne, Chairman of the UNA Executive, who presided, opened by reading a message from Professor Gilbert Murray, who said he thought that one of the outstanding features of the present time was that the nations now recognised a collective responsibility for work of relief and reconstruction which was previously left to voluntary bodies like the Red Cross and the Society of Friends.

"We are all of us a great Red Cross today," he said. "Wounded ourselves, we must bring help to those more grievously wounded. Here, in the helping of man by man, is a great purpose in which we can all unite."

The challenge before us

John Ferguson, Lecturer in Classics at Durham University and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, said that he proposed to examine what were a Christian's commitments, how far they were being carried out by the United Nations, and what was the challenge before us.

"The Christian's first commitment," he said, "is to be a peacemaker. That is to say we stand for the principle that arbitration and negotiation must replace the method of war, and at the very least must always precede any resort to arms."

"The United Nations in the first place provides a meeting-ground for the nations, and such meeting-ground there must be. When we hear of disagreements either in the Assembly or the Security Council we tend to concentrate on the fact that there is disagreement. That is wrong. Nobody but the veriest Utopian expected there to be full agreement between nations so profoundly divided as the United States and the Soviet Union. It is not surprising that they should disagree. What is surprising is that they are still meeting around the council table to work out their disagreements."

A neglected opportunity in Korea

John Ferguson said that during the past five years the UN had worked out a new technique of negotiation, which had been developed in Indonesia and Israel, and was now being used in Kashmir.

"Some of us," he added, "are regretful that this technique of negotiation was never applied in Korea though it was the request of the UN Commission there."

He continued: "We who profess to call ourselves Christians are disciples of a man who went about healing the sick, feeding the hungry, caring for the needy."

"The first aim of the foreign policy of any nation which calls itself Christian ought to be to see that every citizen of the world has an adequate standard of food, clothing, shelter, work, health and education."

There was much that remained to be done—so many homeless people still, so many people still suffering from disease, because we gave such inadequate resources to this work. We ought, said John Ferguson, to extend the vow of William Blake

"I believe, as I have always believed," he said, "that Christianity has to try and put this thing right by its own methods and by its own technique."

The matter of South-West Africa was still open to negotiation, and he thought that the United Nations Association, or some other association, should take it up.

"The situation requires many influences for good to be brought to bear upon it, which have not prevailed yet. Britain and the British people have more power in Africa for good or evil than any other state. It will be a testing-time for Britain and the whole of the Commonwealth within the next few months."

"It is for Britain to rise, in this new reign we have begun, to her great opportunities in Africa and elsewhere."

The last speaker, Lord Pakenham, aroused opposition from a section of the audience by declaring that he believed in the necessity for rearmament, including the rearmament of Germany.

Those whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad

THE FOLLY OF LISBON

AT the time of writing, the full results of the Lisbon Conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation are not yet known.

It is clear that the European representatives have put up some resistance to the exorbitant demands of America's military chiefs.

The date for the scheme of rearmament which the generals regard as the minimum necessary for security (and they can give no guarantee on that!) is postponed from 1954 to a date still to be fixed. And, of course, unless the armaments of the USSR and her satellites remain unchanged during these years—which is hardly to be expected—the figures will have to be correspondingly increased year by year.

It is an endless process which must end in war or bankruptcy—or both.

"Worse than a crime . . ."

But perhaps the most serious aspect of the Lisbon Conference is the decision to allow Germany to rearm on a basis of equality with the other states in the European Defence Community (France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg). Not only is Germany to be allowed to have a considerable army with all the necessary equipment, but she is to have an air force and her armament industry is to be restarted.

Such a breach of solemn international agreements concerning the disarmament of Germany (details of which I gave in my article in Peace News on Feb. 15), within such a short time of their signature, is almost unprecedented in the history of international relations, though the parallel action in the case of Japan had prepared us for this breach of faith in Europe.

We have, however, long since ceased to look for honesty or loyalty to agreements in international affairs. What amazes me is not the utter disregard of pledges, but the sheer folly of the whole proceeding. In the words of Napoleon: "It is worse than a crime. It is a blunder."

New army—old ideas

The new German army is to be a conscript force. It is to be officered very largely from the old officer class and the ex-Nazis, many of whom have been, or will be, released from prison, in order to build this new military power. What reason is there for thinking that the character of this army will differ in any way from the armies of the Kaiser or of Hitler?

What reason is there for thinking that once Germany has an effective and efficient independent military force she will be an obedient collaborator in the plans of the Western Allies?

And why should she be?

Quite apart from the psychology of the situation, she has no reason for gratitude to the West—quite the reverse; and her interests are entirely opposed to such a policy.

What is the immediate and primary objective of every German political party from the extreme Left to the extreme Right? It is the restoration of national unity—if possible on the basis of the pre-war frontiers.

The key to this lies entirely in the hands of Russia. The Western Allies can do nothing to achieve it except by a successful war against Russia in which Germany would be so completely destroyed that national unity and pre-war frontiers would be of no interest to the few survivors.

Russia, however, which occupied Germany east of the Elbe under full German sovereignty, the former east German lands, can at any moment restore German unity, and would

by HAROLD BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
Chairman of the War Resisters' International

have good reason to do so on terms favourable to herself.

Another Russo-German treaty?

The obvious solution is a Russo-German Treaty, similar to the Hitler-Stalin agreement of 1939 which prepared the way for World War II.

In return for the restoration of the lands east of the Elbe under full German sovereignty, Germany would agree:

- (a) to withdraw from any military commitments to the West, and
- (b) observe a benevolent neutrality in the event of a war between Russia and the Western Powers, even if she did not promise positive aid. It is certain that Germany would supply economic aid (armaments, etc.) in return for foodstuffs even if she did not actively participate in the war.

The advantages of such a Treaty, both for Germany and for Russia are so great and so obvious that it is inconceivable, on the basis of *Realpolitik* that it should not be made. The decision of the Lisbon Conference has prepared the way for it.

The rearming of Germany, as an ally of the West, constitutes a major threat to Russia which she must seek to counter. A bargain with the German military leaders will not only do that but secure Russia's western frontiers from invasion.

The sacrifice of the Communist Party in the Eastern Zone and of the German Baltic lands (at Poland's expense, not Russia's!)

would be a small price to pay for such manifest gains.

Unbelievable folly

What surprises one is the apparent blindness of the Western politicians in not foreseeing this. The Americans have so little understanding of European history and politics that the naivete of their policy is comprehensible. But how can one explain the fact that France, three times invaded and occupied by the German armies in less than 80 years, should be willing to consent to the rebuilding of Germany's armed forces under the old leaders?

Such folly would be unbelievable were it not before our eyes.

Western Europe has broken faith with its dead. It will live to rue the day.

* * *

The above arguments are of course based on an examination of the situation from the premises of orthodox politics and international relations.

Pacifists are not opposed to German rearmament because it is German. They are opposed to all armaments, and while opposing the rearmament of Germany and Japan, they advocate the complete disarmament of all countries.

Only in a disarmed world can international relations be based on good faith and common interest.

No new agreement or alliances, no juggling with quotas and military contributions can save the world from destruction: only a change of heart which will lead to the complete abandonment of the methods of violence.

A story for the times

BIKINI, EUROPE

By Clifford C. Reed

YESES, general," the commanding officer on the station held the receiver farther away from his ear. The big shot had a tendency to raise his voice when speaking on the telephone.

"No sir, there's been no hitch here. Everything's laid on just right. Operation Dove will go off on time . . . Yes, general, I'll tell them. They'll appreciate that . . . Yes, sir."

He laughed abruptly.

"They surely will! . . . Thank you, general . . . Good bye."

He replaced the instrument.

"Here's the position," he told the men who stood by. "Fighter protection all the way. It's planned to divert their fighters so our planes can go in practically unopposed. There's a special fighter escort for the plane that carries the bomb, and also for the planes that will take the pictures."

"The general sends a message. He said to tell the boys he's wishing them luck, and to remember he's back there fighting for all of us."

They murmured their approval of these sentiments of the general.

"Guess we can spare the time to watch our planes take off," the officer said happily. They followed him from the room.

* * *

Five miles from the aerodrome a crowd of civilians was moving down the road that led to the factory gates. They would soon be back on the job, turning out the munitions that were needed to fight the war. The lunch-hour break was almost over, and in a few minutes they would be free men no longer.

Not many looked up to where the aircraft that had taken off were climbing to assemble. There was no novelty about such a sight. All of them had passed from excitement to boredom at such things during the previous war, and there was nothing more than just another bombing mission.

They plodded on. This was not their war. In some day-dream future these things would not happen. In the meantime . . .

In the cottage from which one of them had left some few minutes earlier Mrs. Mann came from the scullery wiping her hands. There was some sewing she must do before she collected the children from school. She paused, estimating how much she could finish in the time that was left.

"The period of preparation is over," the radio carried on, "and the enemy has not struck. Our task, had he done so, before we had completed our dispositions, would have been harder. But he has lost his advantage, and ensured his own defeat. For our forces, and those of our allies, are now poised to begin the operations that will complete his downfall and remove this tyranny from the earth. We shall come, not only as conquerors, but as liberators to the enslaved millions who will welcome the freedom we can bestow on them."

Irritatedly she crossed to the instrument and switched off the unctuous tones.

She stared out with empty eyes at the busy sky, and twitched as the sound of aircraft engines came louder to where she stood.

* * *

On the bomber station itself the commanding officer and his subordinates had watched the giant craft being brought to readiness.

Other small groups of lesser rank were scattered at intervals, the individuals matching tenseness and vicarious exaltation with morbid humour.

"Boy, will they sure wish they were some other place when that baby unfolds its napkin!"

They gazed at the bomber moving down the runway with respectful delight.

"Sound the trumpet,
Beat the drum;
Open them pearly gates,
Here those bastards come!"

They dug the doggerel-monger in the ribs.

"That's telling them," they chuckled.

* * *

At Supreme Command HQ the general's immediate aides tried to emulate their senior's self-control. Here was his grim warning of the past translated into terrible fact.

"If I thought it would be to my country's advantage to use this weapon, I would not hesitate to do so."

How many of his subjects would the enemy permit to perish before he conceded his defeat? History, and time, pressed down uneasily upon the generals.

* * *

The men at the factory, trooping in at the gates, ready for the signal that would terminate their mid-day break, punching their time-cards, moving towards the benches, waited.

* * *

Mrs. Mann, looking through the window at the delivery cart that lurched behind the plodding horse, along the muddy ruts, waited.

* * *

As the bombers assembled overhead, prior to moving out towards the enemy, the sirens were sounding. The other's long range fighters had broken through, and were diving down on the carriers of destruction. The bombers were in trouble. The allied fighters, summoned in frantic haste, were coming too late. Had come too late.

For that one plane carrying its particular atomic load was drawing a sickening black mark down the slate of the sky.

And suddenly the whole scene was hidden by a blaze of light and the last trump sounded.

The aerodrome, the factory and many other similar factories, the houses, the shops and schools and the people in them, ceased on that instant, and the familiar shape of smoke climbed to stand as a signal in the sky.

* * *

The general heard the report of this blow with professional calm. He nodded finally, and turned to the small group of scientists who stood uncomfortably in the background.

"We'll let you have the pictures as soon as possible," he told them. "One thing; you'll be able to study the effects with one hundred per cent efficiency."

New books and pamphlets

Max Josef Metzger, by Lilian Stevenson. SPCK, 9s. 6d.

THE greatest unresolved pacifist problem of the past 30 years is the political problem.

Most pacifists believe that in some way the principles in which we believe must be interpreted in political terms and must be projected into the life of society and the modern state.

How is this to be done?

Many believe that pacifists must identify themselves in some way with the set up of present-day politics and working within the party-political system. Others believe that the disease from which the world is slowly dying is not fundamentally economic but is a lack of moral and spiritual life and these look to Christians to lead the way into the Kingdom of God.

If George Lansbury and Arthur Salter are the heroes of the first school of thought, Max Joseph Metzger will be a hero of the second.

The biographical sketch which that veteran internationalist Lilian Stevenson has written, and in which she has included many of Metzger's letters and poems from prison, cannot fail to grip the reader's attention, by the intensity of its tragedy and its heroism.

A staunch Roman Catholic priest, Metzger founded in 1919 in Germany, "The Society of Christ the King," with its three-fold vows of "chastity, poverty and obedience."

It was, however, the Una Sancta Movement, "a fellowship for prayer and work for re-union among Christ's disciples everywhere" which led to his martyrdom.

The Movement was founded in 1938 and when war came this pacifist martyr of the ecumenical movement saw that Christian unity implied the making of an attempt to reach an honourable peace through the agency of the Church. This work led to his arrest in June 1943 and his execution in April 1944.

This moving story demonstrates the heights to which saintliness can attain, the joy and peace which mortals can experience in tribulation and persecution, and how firmly one can tread the valley of the shadow of death.

WALLACE HANCOCK

IN "Dawn over Asia,"** Ritchie Calder, Science Editor of the News Chronicle and a Vice President of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship has produced an excellent booklet on the historical developments of South East Asia since the war.

It is essential for all pacifists who are interested in the problems of the coloured peoples of Asia to realise the difficulties which have arisen as a result of the last war. New countries have achieved political independence with new leaders and ideas often conflicting with the religious beliefs.

"Each of the new governments," Ritchie Calder writes, "is pledged to democracy. But their peoples have until recently been the subjects of colonial powers which have practised democracy at home and 'Patriotism' abroad. Therefore 'Western democracy' has not the idiom and inflection which the West likes to give it."

DENIS BRIAN

* News Chronicle publication 1s.

Land Hunger in Kenya, by Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneko. Union of Democratic Control, 6d.

This is the third pamphlet in the series "Africa Faces the Future," and has been written by two members of the Kenya African Union, who recently came to this country to see members of Parliament.

The writers describe in detail how the Kenya Africans have been dispossessed of the best land in their country in favour of European settlers. Africans who formerly lived in this territory, owning the land in common, are now regarded as "squatters" bereft of all rights.

There is also a brief reference to the undemocratic form of government. Even after the adjustments which are to be made in May of this year, the Africans, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, will still have only six nominated members (and no elected members) on the Legislative Council of 53.

The Kenya African Union, which represents all races, is working to achieve equality for Africans in both the political and economic spheres.

M.W.

ENDSLEIGH CARDS

You are invited to submit designs for our 1952 range of Christmas Cards.

All entries will be exhibited at the Alliance Hall on April 26, in connection with the PPU Annual Meeting. A prize of three guineas is offered for each design accepted for publication.

Closing date March 24th. We shall welcome new artists and new ideas. Please write for details to

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and

Dear Sir

The Monarchy

YOUR issue of Feb. 15 has just reached me here in the remote West of the Republic of Ireland. I opened it confident that such comment as it left constrained to make concerning the late king would be such as would speak to my pacifist condition. When I had read the comment in your "Behind the News" columns I could not but feel that I cannot be alone in my astonishment and regret at what the editorial board has seen fit to print on the subject.

King George VI was probably, like millions of other men in this country, a good father and husband, and, according to his lights, what is commonly called "decent." I submit, however, that those lights and that decency are not our pacifist conception of goodness.

You say that "today the monarch has become the dedicated symbol of national unity, this is regrettably true—regrettable since national today means unity for war and war preparations.

As the symbol or figurehead of all this the king wore on all State occasions—as kings must—military or naval uniform, and to say, as you do, that "even the uniforms which associate him with the military forces seem to be more closely related to mediaeval pageantry than to modern nationalism," is—forgive me—plain nonsense, since the uniforms are not mediaeval but modern. If the monarch has become "an example for national conduct," then obviously we must cease our pacifist propaganda and drop our pacifist conviction and on no account dis-

WOODBROOKE

Summer Term April 26th-July 12th, 1952

In addition to the usual courses on Quaker and Biblical subjects there will be special opportunities to study

Some Aspects of the East-West Tension

LONGER COURSES

Konrad Braun: The United Nations and the East-West Conflict.

Konrad Braun: Central and Eastern Europe in the Shadow of the Soviets.

Leslie H. Gilbert: Russia before and after the Bolshevik Revolution.

Leslie H. Gilbert: Marxism.

SHORTER COURSES

Victor Holtum: Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev

John S. Hoyland: India—The Middle Way.

Edward Rogers: Christianity and Communism.

Eileen M. Stephens: Chekhov as Dramatist.

Leslie Stephens: Dostoevsky from Europe.

Nicola Zernov: Title to be arranged.

In the weekly International Forum guest lecturers will deal with subjects such as Communist China, the Quaker Mission to Moscow, Christianity in Present-Day Russia, etc.

Enquiries to the Warden

WOODBROOKE, SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM 29

Notes for your Diary

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, February 29

WALLASEY: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho.; R. Foster, J.P., Chairman Wallasey U.N.A. World Peace"; Wallasey Peace Group.

WORTHING: 7.15 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Montague St.; Discussion on "Socialists and Pacifists." opened by Geo. E. Humphreys; PPU.

Saturday, March 1

ELTHAM: 7.45 p.m. Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd; Allen Skinner: PPU.

Sat., March 1-Sun., March 2

BURLEY-IN-WHARFDALE: Royden Guest Ho.; Rev. Clifford Macquire: Details from Joyce Keeling, Flat 3, 31 Cromer Terrace, Leeds 2.

Sunday, March 2

NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Lane; Philip Turnbull, Edmunds, The Economics of Peace"; SoF.

Monday, March 3

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. 12 Downside Cres., close to Belsize Park Tube; "The Work of the Bruderhof"; FoR.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Butcher Lane 3; Edith Freeman, "The Work of UN during 1951"; PPU.

Tuesday, March 4

CROYDON: 8 p.m. Town Hall, Katharine St.; Lady Allen of Hurtwood and Ritchie Calder, "Dispossessed children of the world, what can be done?"; Chair: Miss M. F. Adams, OBE, MA; Women's International League.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Queens Hall; Britain and Canon John Collins, "East-West Conflict, Peace or War"; FoR.

Wednesday, March 5

LONDON, S.E.11: 6 p.m. Newington 59 Kennington Pk Rd; Rev. George Norton, "South Africa"; APF.

SOUTHEND: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., 16 Dumbdon Drive, Leigh; "Function of PPU"; Discussion: PPU.

Thursday, March 6

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Bush Rd; Lt.-Col. N. Read Collins, Against Conscription"; PPU and FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman; PPU.

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Broadweir; Hugh Faulkner; Chair: Rev. Reginald A. Smith; FoR.

KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Cres., W.H.: Frank Dawtry, "Pacifism and Penology"; PPU.

Fri., March 21-Sun., March 23

NORTHUMBERLAND: Otterburn Hall; Week-end Conf: Hugh Faulkner, Rev. John Lane, John Swomley; FoR.

courage our young men from getting into uniform—just as the monarchy would like them to, and for which it sets them its "example" . . . that example which the organ of the pacifist movement in this country so astonishingly finds admirable.

But the most astonishing assertion in the whole of this astonishing tribute to the late king is contained in the last sentence in which the writer salutes "this Royal example of non-violent self-dedication." Can it be that your correspondent in a moment of mental aberration confused his late Majesty King George VI with the late Mahatma Gandhi?

If only because of the pacifist *Republicans* and anarchists in the peace movement I should appreciate it if you would publish this letter.

God save the people!

ETHEL MANNIN

Faul, Clifden, Co. Galway, Ireland.

Church v. Atom Bomb

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, asks—and well he might—what are the Archbishops and leaders of the Christian Churches going to do about the official announcement that Britain is to explode an atom bomb in Australia? The answer is—nothing!

The Archbishops via the Council of Churches have already "sanctioned" the use of the bomb, and it is of no use to look to them for our salvation. The Church has sold its conscience to the State. It has miserably failed to preach the gospel of peace on earth and goodwill to men, and in consenting to the use of this weapon, has gone against the instruction of the Founder of Christianity who said, "Love your enemies and do good to those who hate you!"

The Archbishops stand by, handing out pious advice regarding the evils of divorce and gambling, while remaining mute and acquiescent concerning the wickedest gamble of all time, which is being planned for mankind in Whitehall, Washington and Moscow.

(Miss) SUSANNAH L. BANBURY
Claremont, 3 Knox Road, Havant, Hants.

Political objectors

I NOTICE from your report of the application of Ernest Siggers to the Birmingham CO Tribunal that he claimed exemption on political grounds, and that the chairman, Mr. G. L. Dawson, told him: "That does not concern us at all. We cannot interfere with the policies of Parliament."

It is difficult to understand, from your necessarily brief report, how the Chairman

was led into making two such completely incorrect statements. Parliament has never had a "policy" with regard to the exemption of political objectors. It has simply passed a conscription act which provides for the exemption of anyone who conscientiously objects to military service. The interpretation of the Act is left to the tribunals themselves, and some of them have granted exemption to the political objector.

So far from their not being concerned with a particular kind of objection, it has been stated repeatedly by the tribunals and by the Minister of Labour and National Service, who is the responsible minister, that each application is considered entirely on its merits and that no general rules can be laid down.

BERNARD WITHERS

Secretary

Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Moscow Conference

THE future of undeveloped countries and the importance of East-West trade in fostering understanding and mutual help are obviously topics in which the pacifist movement must be interested: "A rapid approach to more nearly equal living standard of the World's People is the indispensable price of peace," was the main conclusion of the International Study Conference organised by the International Liaison Committee of Peace Organisations.

If the pacifist movement has any useful contribution to make to the discussion of these subjects the International Economic Conference to be held in Moscow in April, sponsored by the World Peace Council, appears to demand our serious attention.

In general the agenda is "The possibilities of improving the living conditions of the peoples of the world through peaceful co-operation of different systems, and through the development of economic relations between all countries." We are told that "all persons active in economic and public affairs are invited," so it should be possible to send pacifist representatives, (preferably with a knowledge of international economics).

The conference is to confine itself to seeking practical measures of co-operation, all discussion of the relative merits of the various political and economic systems being wisely ruled out, so as to prevent expenditure of energy in fruitless and antagonising argument.

The Rev. Clifford Macquire observed in Peace News for December 14, that . . . "If the peace movement in the 'West' is to help build a bridge across the tensions of the present conflict, the WPC, representative as it is of political, cultural and

religious influences in the 'East,' is part of the existing material with which that bridge must be built." This is sound common sense.

Have we as pacifists anything useful to bring to the International Economic Conference? If so surely we ought to be discussing the possibility of representation at Moscow in April? If there is an opportunity for influencing its decisions, and the policy of the World Peace Council, let us not miss it for lack of thought.

MERVYN FRY

79 Lordship Park, N.16.

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Labour & German rearmament

THE EUROPEAN ARMY IDEA

OPINION in the Labour Party is sharply divided on the question of German rearmament.

It is impossible to evade this issue much longer as it is the one that is dominating European politics.

The late Mr. Bevin was, of course, strongly and bitterly anti-German and when the question was first mooted expressed whole-hearted opposition to the very idea. But after his visit to Washington to discuss the military arrangements that followed the North Atlantic Treaty he came back to report that he had agreed that Germany must make "some contribution" to European defence.

What that "some contribution" is to be has never been defined.

When Mr. Attlee, as Prime Minister, made the announcement, it was so hedged round with conditions that nobody has yet been able to have any clear idea as to what it meant.

In a recent political broadcast Mr. Hugh Dalton came out strongly against German rearmament and he has expressed this view repeatedly at Labour Party meetings. Mr. Dalton shared Mr. Bevin's violent German antipathies, and this point of view, coloured largely by war emotions, is widely held in the Labour Party.

After all, you cannot expect people, especially Jews, to forget what the Germans did in the last war, and having heard so much anti-German propaganda for so many years it is not surprising that this still sticks in people's memories.

This is especially true of France. The recent debates in the French Parliament revealed that members of all parties are still determined in their opposition to the resurrection of the German military machine in any form.

Eisenhower's headache

How to get France to swallow German rearmament has been one of General Eisenhower's major headaches, and it remains.

All the elaborate and complicated schemes for a European army with German divisions subordinate to other nations' command have only to be carefully examined to find that the solution isn't there. For it is impossible to run an army of German privates under French officers which is what the French military people want.

If Germany is to contribute any kind of an army at all, it means German officers, a German high command, and the beginnings of the recreation of the old military machine all over again.

Once given a place in any European army the Germans would soon make themselves so indispensable as to dominate it.

The French knew this, and it only requires a little imagination to realise that if you once accept the principle of German rearmament and set up the beginnings of military organisation it is simply going to be impossible for any outside command to control it.

The Germans say 'No' too

But what about the Germans themselves? What do they think about it?

Everybody knows that the overwhelming opinion in Germany is against rearmament and against conscription. The German Social Democratic Party is not a pacifist party but the mood of the people is and in their opposition to the Adenauer regime the Socialist leaders are expressing the sentiments of ordinary Germans who have

Bouquet for the BBC

From a correspondent

IT is not often that Peace News offers bouquets to the BBC, but two recent programmes deserve honourable mention. These were "The Last Freedom," a personal statement on racial attitudes among coloured peoples by the South African negro novelist, Peter Abrahams (one of the signatories of the Authors' World Peace Appel), and Patric Dickinson's "The Muse of Fire." Mr. Dickinson's feature programme was an impression of the work and ideas of three poets of the First World War, Rupert Brooke, Edward Thomas and Wilfrid Owen. Only a very obtuse listener could, in face of the evidence, believe that these 1914-18 poets considered war a just method of settling international disputes. Incidentally, as the programme showed, Rupert Brooke's "patriotic" verse only represents a small fraction of his output, written in the early days of the war.

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"had enough of war for this generation, thank you."

So why should the British Labour Party swallow the idea of a European army without the most careful consideration of what it implies?

Hasn't Europe enough armies already? What the supporters of a European Army are after is an anti-Russian army or an anti-Communist army under American auspices.

The supporters of the European Army will ask: "Well, what sort of an army do you want?"

The obvious answer is, that instead of creating new armies we must give support to a disarmament policy which will make possible a great reduction in the costly armies that European countries are now keeping; armies that are immobilising in uniform vast numbers of men who are badly needed for the task of food production if we are not to starve, and for other industries if our standard of life is not to be driven down.

The British Labour Party should not give the slightest support for any European Army.

On the other hand it is time that it is realised that it should line itself up with the movements that are demanding that all Russian peace proposals should not be contemptuously rejected, but be regarded as a basis for negotiation for the disarmament which can come if the people make it quite clear that they are not going to be driven into World War III under any auspices or for any reason.

HE STOOD UP FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

Canon Raven's tribute to Dr. Alex Wood

A MAN I would put among the finest I ever knew," was the tribute paid to Dr. Alex Wood by the Rev. C. E. Raven, DD, DSc, in the Union, Cambridge, last week.

Dr. Raven, former Vice-Chancellor of the University, was delivering the first annual Alex Wood Memorial Lecture, established by the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a memorial to the life and work of a distinguished physicist and pacifist who at the time of his death was Chairman of the Board of Directors of Peace News Ltd., Vice-Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and former Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

Dr. Raven's audience of 200 people represented many of the spheres in which Alex Wood had exerted an influence: the University, Cambridge Town Council, social welfare, PPU, FoR, Labour Party, Peace Council and University pacifist groups.

Speaking with "a reverence I don't easily feel for many," Dr. Raven recalled Alex Wood's early days at the University—a long, hatchet-faced Liberal Scotsman with a fascinating sense of humour, Glasgow

DEEDS NOT WORDS

If it had not been for the pacifism of MacDonald and his fellow socialists Hitler would never have attacked in Europe.

—Anonymous correspondent, Feb. 1952

The Labour Movement has always been tinged with pacifism, and instinctively tries to duck difficulties involved in questions of defence.

—The Observer, Feb. 24, 1952

It is not the facts which govern our conduct, but our beliefs about them.

—Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion"

There were even those who said that Neville Chamberlain was a pacifist, and it was after his visits to Hitler that the word "appeasement" fell into such disrepute, and instead of meaning "to pacify," which is a gentle and tolerant word, came to be synonymous with "toadying to a bully."

That Neville Chamberlain did not want a war any more than Ramsay Macdonald, or for that matter anyone else, needs no arguing; that today, there is no one in this country who could possibly want a war in which this island may be the battlefield, is obvious, but pacifism is not synonymous only with a desire for peace.

No government, Conservative, Liberal or Labour, has ever been pacifist; a reduction in arms has no relevance to the pacifist position, and with the exception of a few outstanding men the Labour Party, in or out of office, has never stood for the abolition of arms and armaments. The plea has always been that it is necessary to have armaments for defensive purposes, and that not to have them would lay the country open to the possibility of invasion.

*

But armaments, unfortunately, look the same and have the same devastating and destructive effect whether they are called "defensive" or "offensive." For instance the air bases in this country, the Mediterranean, Greenland and Alaska and now even at the North Pole may be called "defensive," but to Russia, encircled by them, the word, quite naturally is more than a mere evasion of the truth; it has the appearance of a deliberate propaganda lie.

It should be fairly obvious that the attempt to disarm our enemies by going to war with them has proved futile, and the underlying fallacy that Russia will suffer encirclement by atom bomb bases without any attempt at reciprocity is one that belongs not to intelligence, but to sheer lunacy.

The Eastern and the Western proposals for reduction of armaments and control of atomic weapons scarcely differ at all, but words at UN conferences seem to have become not only an irritation, but an actual barrier simply because there is no real will to come to an agreement.

A reduction in armaments and international control of atomic weapons would become meaningless words, as indeed they are now, at the very first hint of differences between the Great Powers; we cannot hope to overcome fundamental differences of opinion, but we can hope to abolish war as a means of settling them.

There is, in fact only one answer, which is the pacifist one; the first step towards the abolition of war must be the abolition of its threatening weapons; when the day comes that some one country has the courage and the confidence to disarm the enemy by disarming themselves, that day will see the dawn of pacifism.

LONDON TRIBUNAL

(Continued from page one)

duction of the lives of many more millions. Levin had asked for unconditional exemption, but was given exemption on the usual conditions.

Headmaster's support

John Cole, a clerk employed by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, said that having been introduced to the Society of Friends he had come to realise that it would be right for him to follow their way of life. He quoted Christ's words, "Do good to those that hate you" and "Love your neighbour as yourself."

H. Lynn Harris, headmaster of his old school, St. Christopher's, at Letchworth, sent a letter in support of his application, and Cole was granted exemption on condition of remaining in his present work.

Richard Stainsey, a Methodist of Thorpe-Norwich, said that as he saw it the main point of the Christian life was love.

"Do you think that love to your fellow-men means that you have got to let oppression and injustice go on?" asked Judge Hargreaves.

"I believe as a Christian it is morally wrong to take part in killing other people," Stainsey replied. "A hundred thousand people might lose their lives if a bomb were dropped, and I cannot think that there would be more people hurt if you did not go to war."

"If you take the pacifist view it certainly means that there is suffering, but we always have suffering from some point of view. And who would have thought that Easter Sunday would follow Good Friday?"

Stainsey said that his objection to non-combatant service was that he would be there for no other reason but to take part in the war effort.

After an officer from his church had testified to the good work he was doing in the youth club, and referred to the antagonism he had met with as a result of his pacifist ideas, the Tribunal agreed to allow him to continue in his present work as a draughtsman with a firm of building contractors.